134 The soils of the peninsula northeast of the city of Salvador are chiefly crystalline-derived. Near the sea and extending inland five or [245] ten kilometers is a belt of white sand dunes, which are not cultivated but are planted in coconut palms. Bondar reports some fertile diorite-derived soils in the peninsula above Salvador, but does not precisely locate the area.[16] Observations in Salvador and its environs suggest that at least two soils of the Western Recôncavo, the crystalline massapê and the slope-land clays and clay-loams, are characteristic also of the peninsular area.

Alluvial Soils. The areas of alluvium in the Recôncavo are so 134 133 limited that it might almost be said that there are no alluvial soils. There are no conspicuous deltas. Along the margin of the Bay and the estuaries which feed into it there is usually a precipitous decline from the plains or hills to the narrow beach. Narrow lowlands with alluvial soil were observed in three areas: (1) on the west coast of the island of Itaparica and on the mainland opposite; (2) on the north side of the Bay between the Rio Sergi and the island of Madre de Deus;[17] and (3) along the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu between the cidade of Maragogipe and the head of the Bacia do Iguape. These marginal alluvial lowlands cover only a very limited area of the total Recôncavo. Most of the alluvial lands are mangrove swamps or very low-lying semi-swampy [241] plains. No cultivation was observed in any of these alluvial areas.

Most of the valleys of the Recôncavo are so narrow that except in the major valleys of the Tabular Uplands, river bottom alluvium is rare.

Soils - Conclusion. The soils pattern which has been developed above is closely related to the patterns of parent material and topography. These correlations are in part a reflection of strong functional relationships between material, terrain, and soil in the Recôncavo. These

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

B BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center BB 161 162 of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
433
192

Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	.5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241
311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above,
245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil.
[175] [262] [178] [565] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class.
000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 244 311 433

The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

BB [438]

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

3B 245 433

Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

B [245 433]

BB [489]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

[311] [433]

245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

[505] [438]

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

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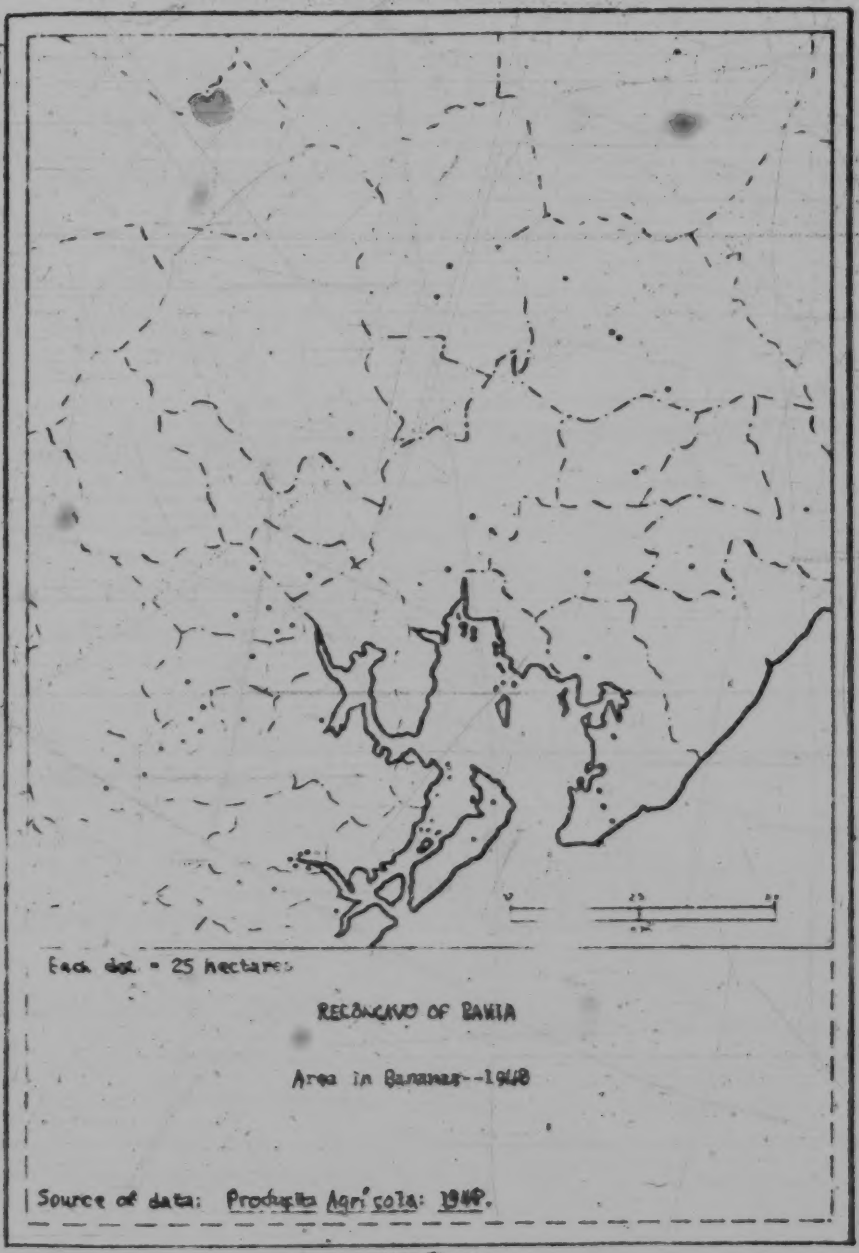

MAP 51

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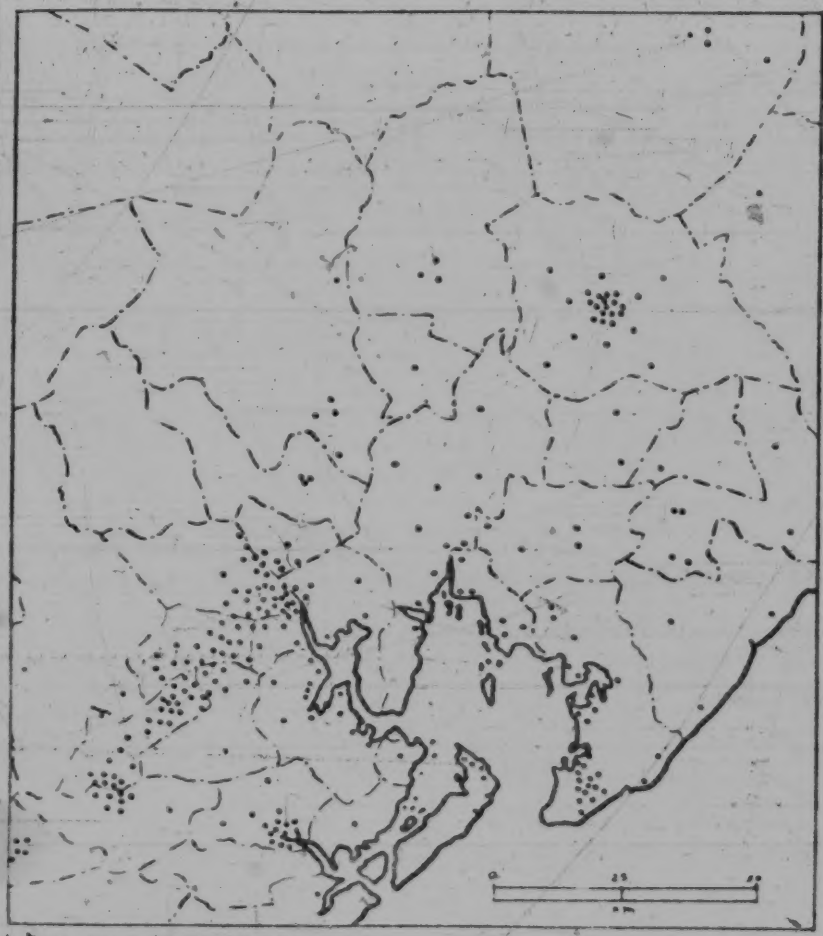

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 52

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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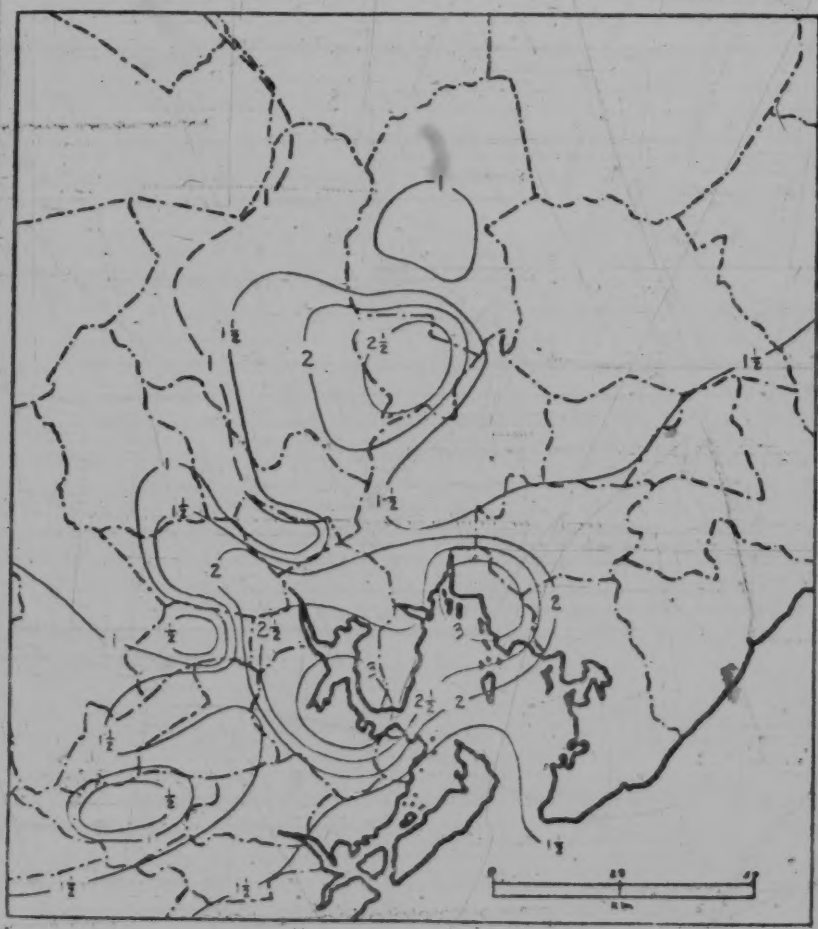

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Bananas--1948

Thousands per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 53

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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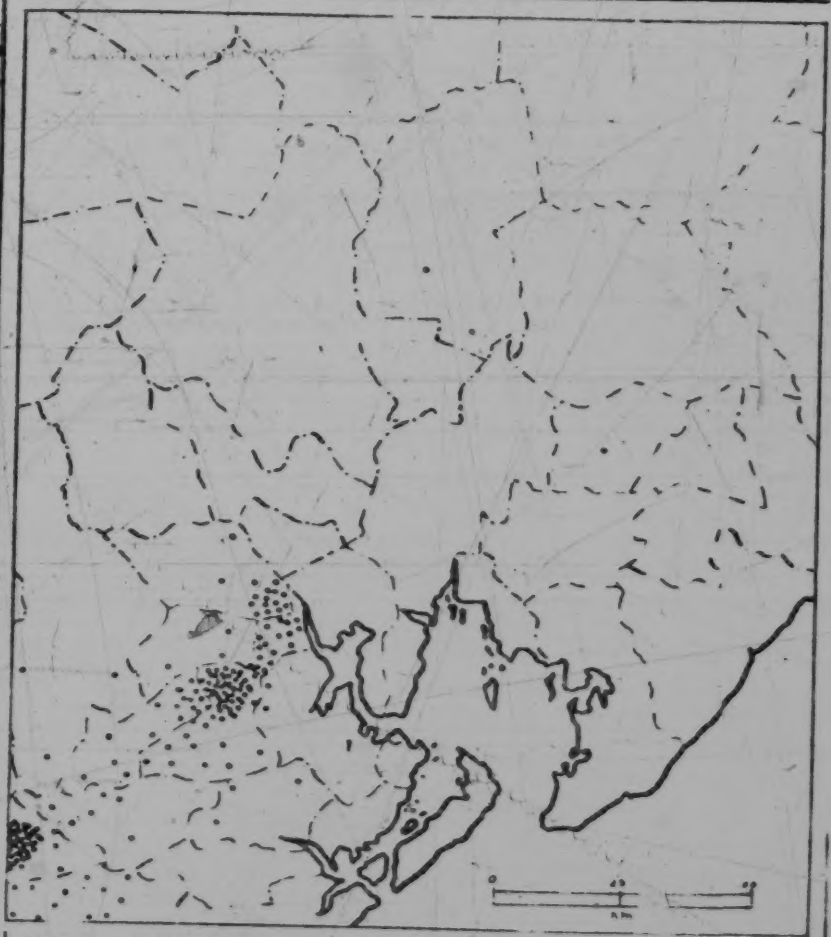

MAP 54

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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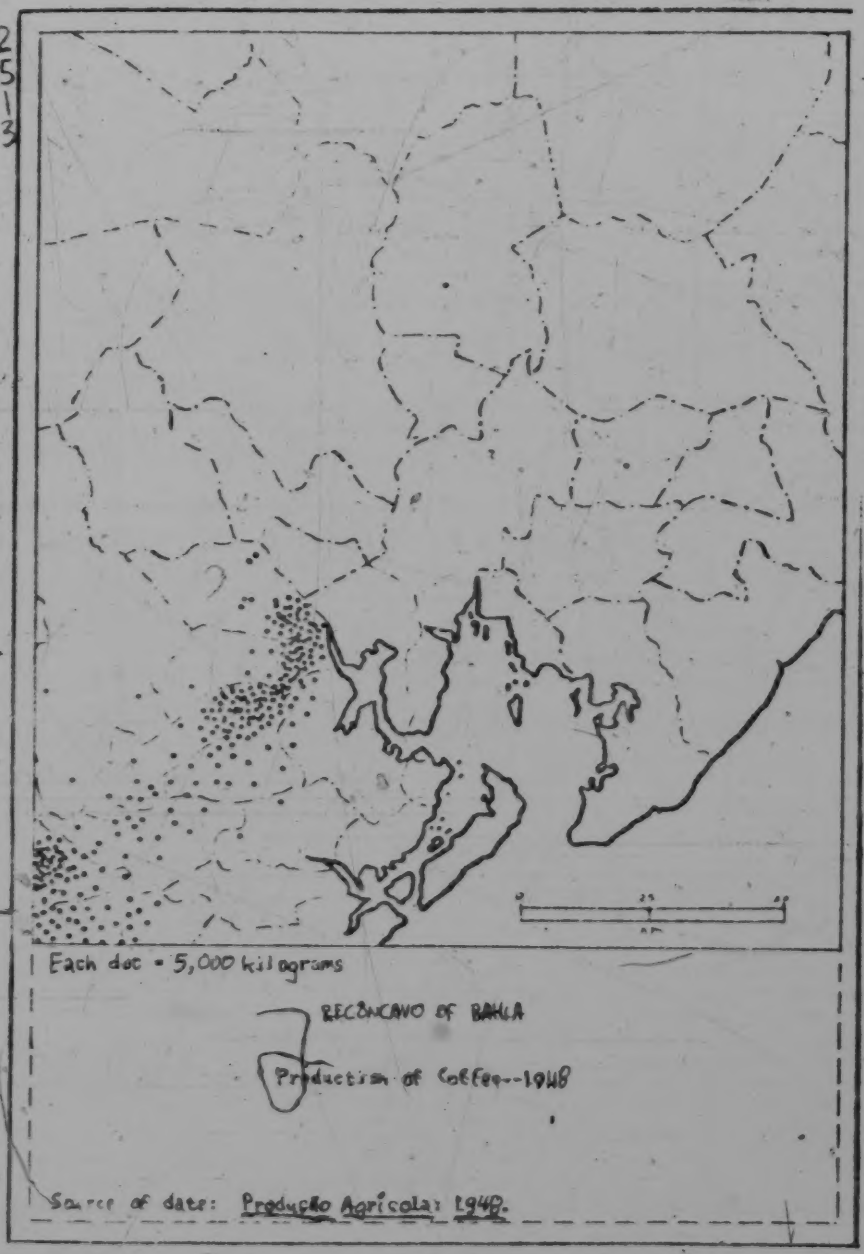

MAP 55

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 245 262

say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

B BB 245 433

Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

BB 245 433

Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consurption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

BB 245 311 433

In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

BB 245 31

Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Félix and northern São Filipe the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209]

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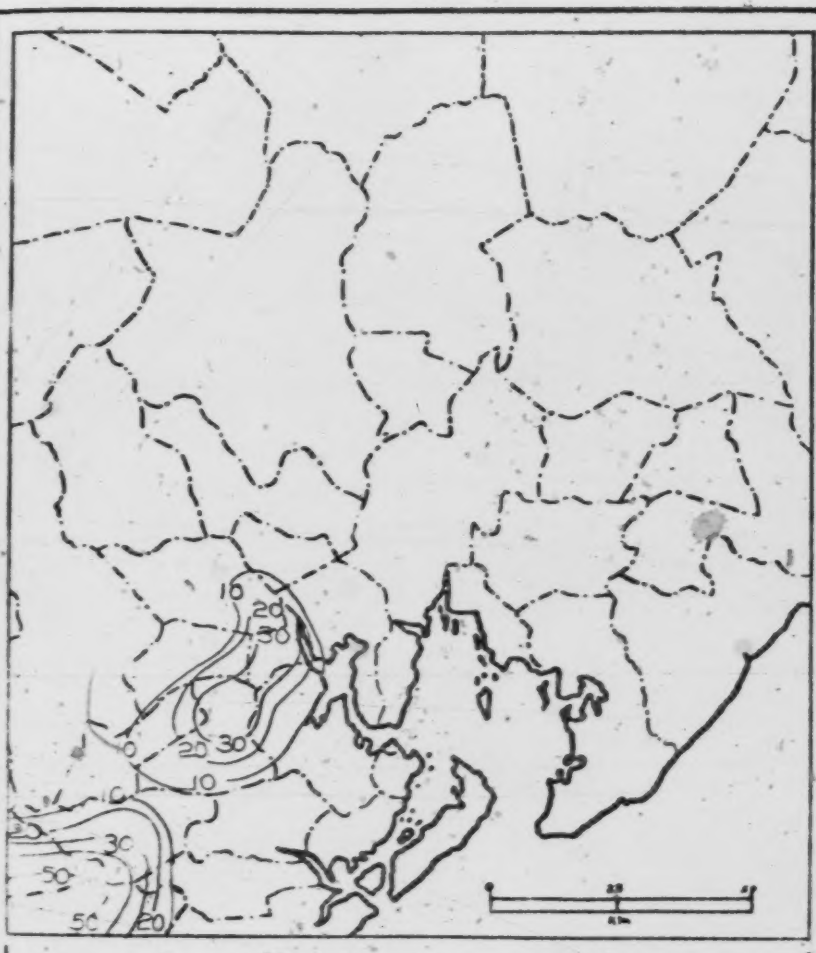

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coffee--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 56

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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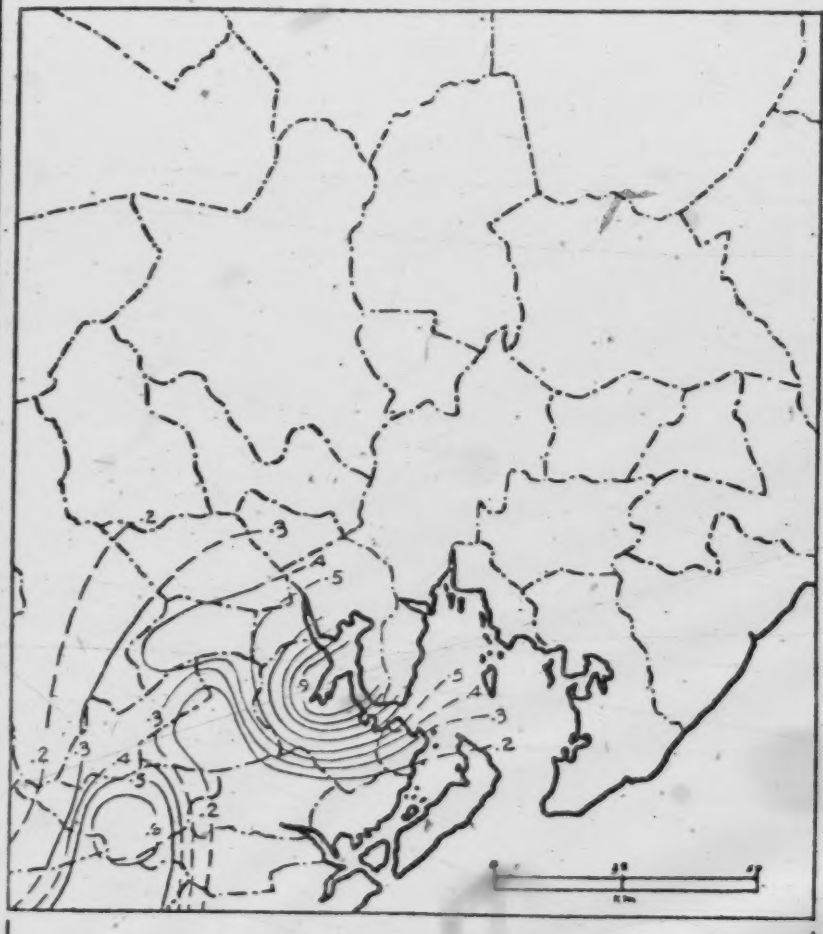

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Coffee--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 57

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old-mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 433 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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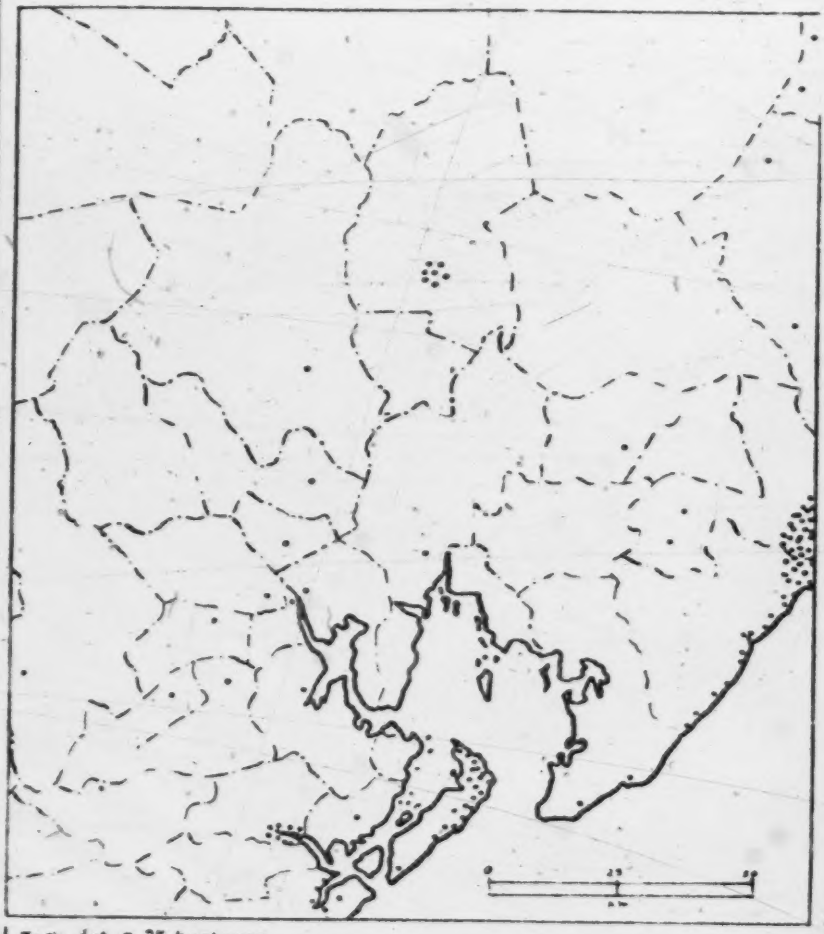

Each dot • 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coconuts—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 58

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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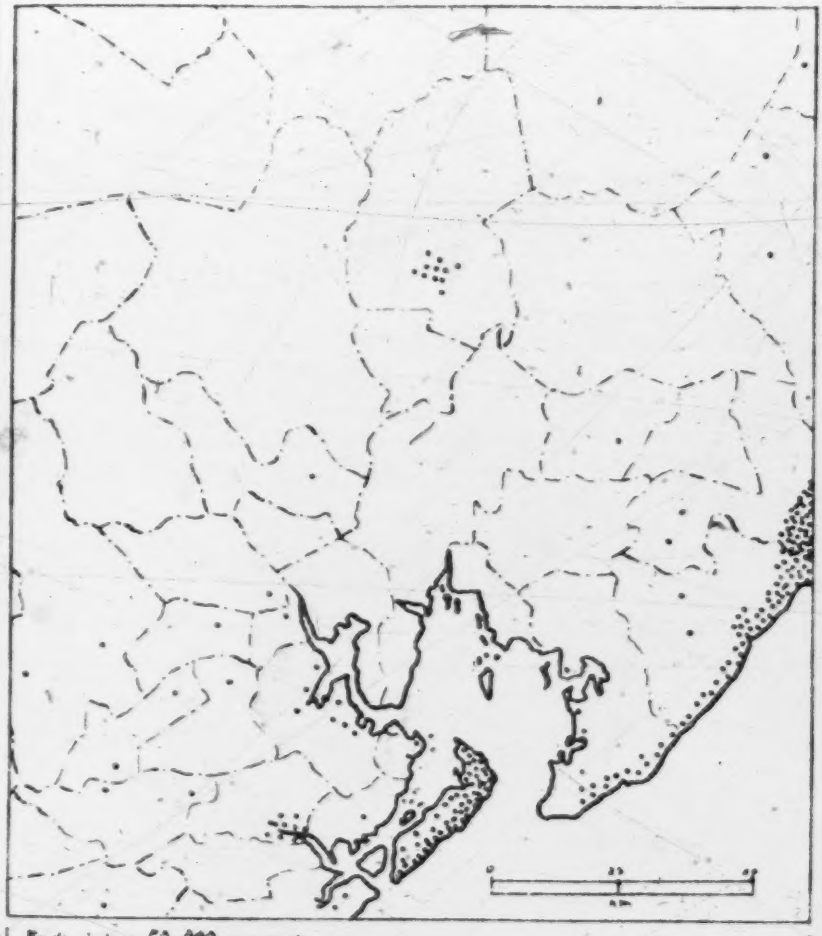

Each dot = 50,000 coconuts

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 59

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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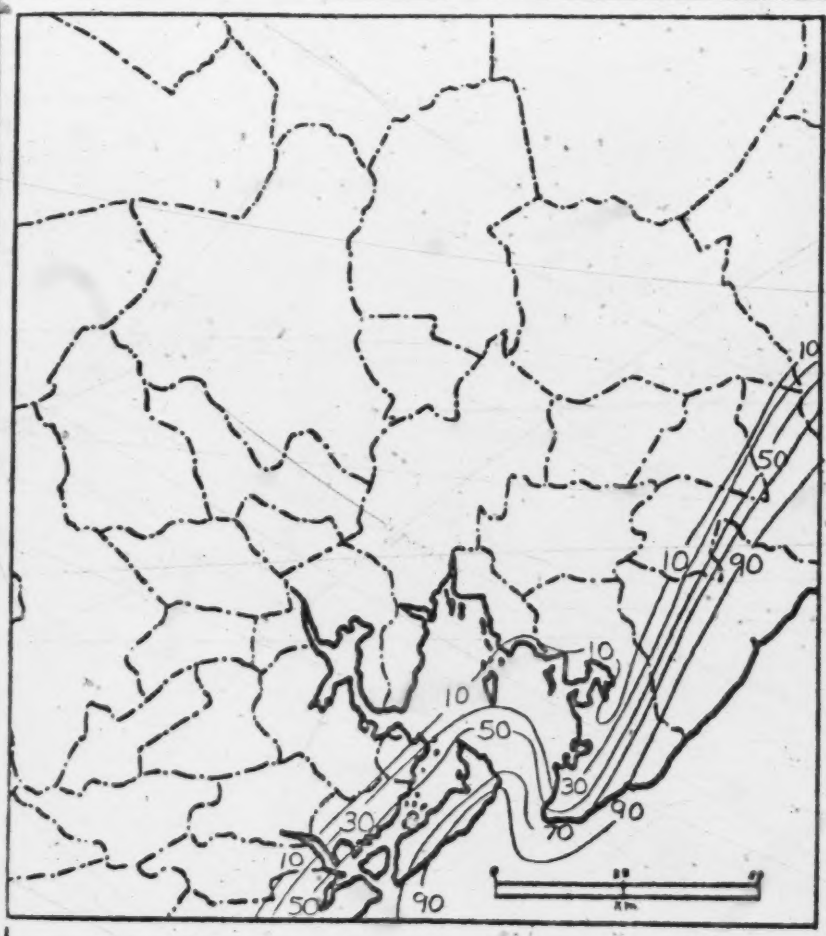

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 60

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] [134] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Cocomuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the cocomuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of orange within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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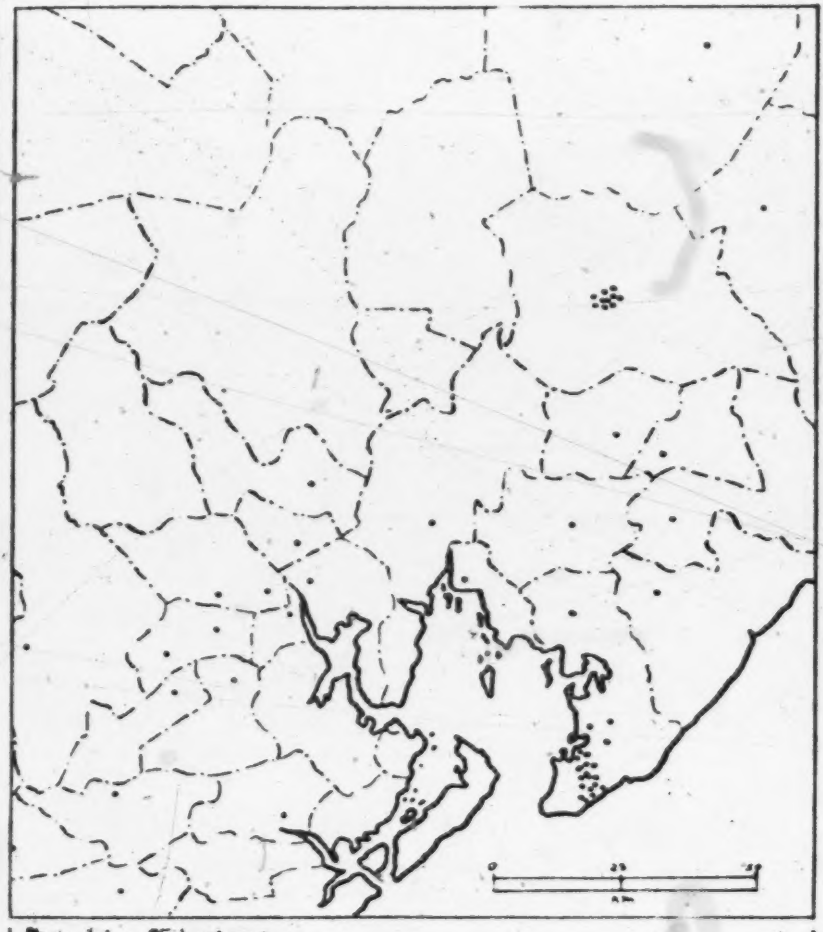

Each dot - 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 61

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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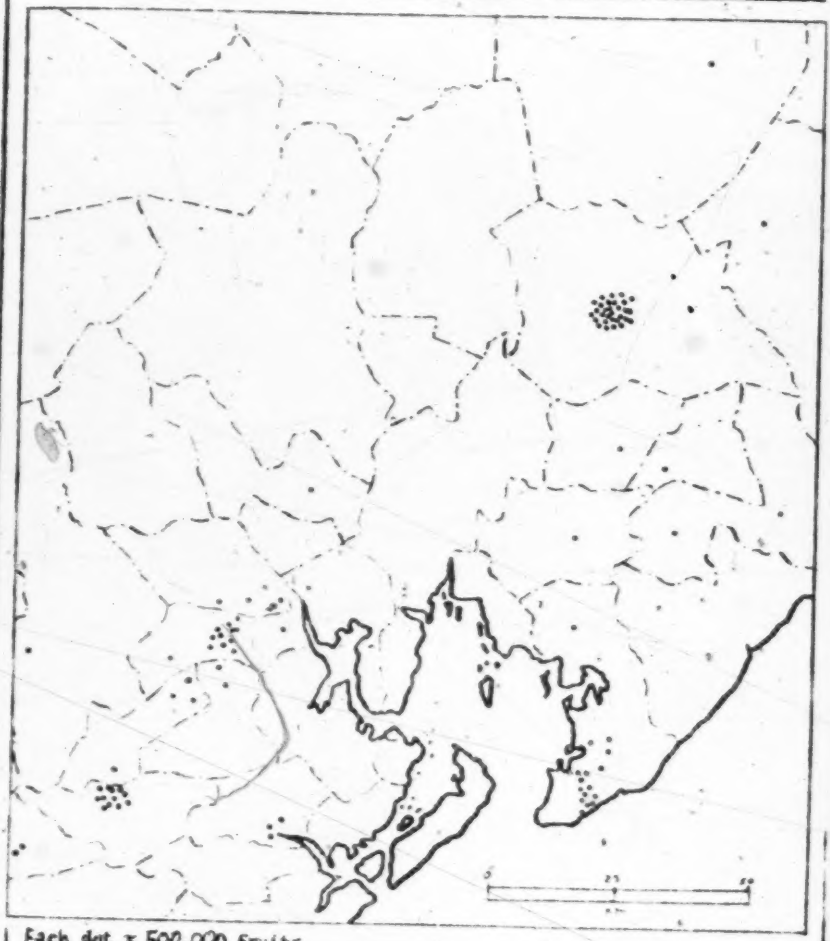

Each dot = 500,000 fruits

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 62

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 [262] Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municipios where exceptionally conscientious statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production [258] [438] in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 311 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of annuals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road--Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo--is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

[128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware [129] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of [128] manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of [46] [162] [361] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 244 311 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

[134] Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally [162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac- [361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33 per cent
Sugar cane	28 " "
Coffee	25 " "
Tobacco	11 " "
Peanuts	1 " "
Corn	1 " "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general pattern:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

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(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[529] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro.

[273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caravassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

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The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The

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total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development

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of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export [245] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its [439] economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 [245] [439] neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao [491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo. [489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

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471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

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438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

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438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, cocomut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of cocomut production).

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438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, cocomut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of

000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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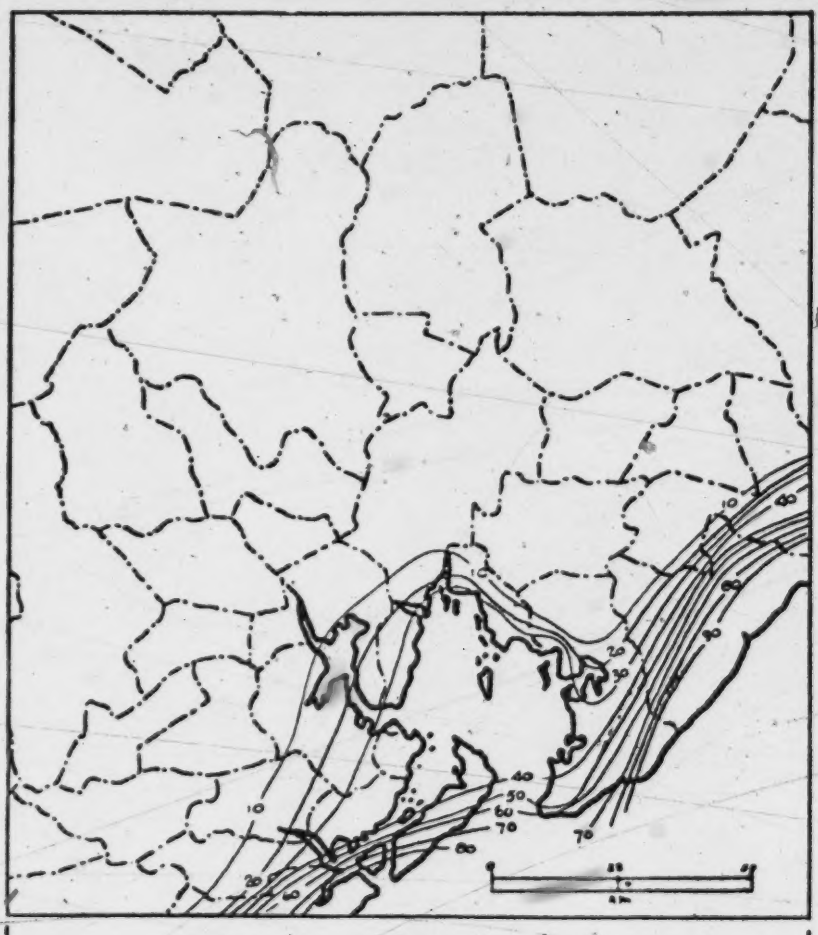

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Coconuts--1948

MAP 126

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of [243] the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research--any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

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433 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
127 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
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128 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe, 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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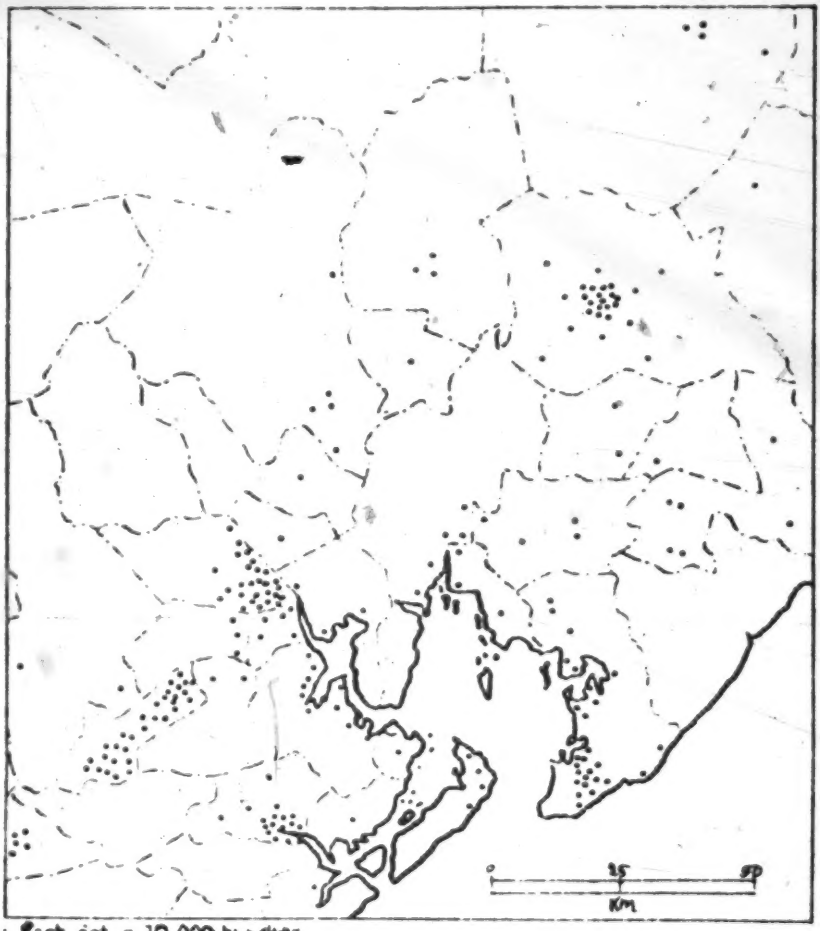

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 135

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data 249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the 433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from 127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of 128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

[113] [1]Antonio Nonanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the workers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it affected some private plantations as well, and was joined by workers of private plantations. The strike was put down immediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and propaganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

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Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and private planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters. Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

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However, a new element is entering the community of Vila Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the planters began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

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Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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[62] 1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate
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[245 among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills
[249 that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --